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The Green Coast Route

German roads will get you there — wherever people live and there are sights worth seeing. Old churches or half-timbered houses, changing landscapes or townships. There are just too many impressions, so many people find it hard to see at a glance what would suit their personal taste. Which is why we in Germany have laid out well-marked tourist routes concentrating on a special feature. Take the coast. We

are keen Europeans and happy to share the Green Coast Route with the Dutch, Danes and Norwegians. But we do feel that we in the north-west of Germany have the most varied section of the route. Offshore there are the North and East Frisian Islands. Then there are the rivers Elbe, Weser and Ems. There are moors and forests, holiday resorts with all manner of recreational facilities. Spas, castles and museums. And

the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg with their art galleries, theatres and shopping streets. Come and see for yourself the north-west of Germany. The Green Coast Route will be your guide.

- 1 Neuhaarlingslele
- 2 A Frisian farmhouse in the Altes Land
- 3 Bremen
- 4 The North Sea

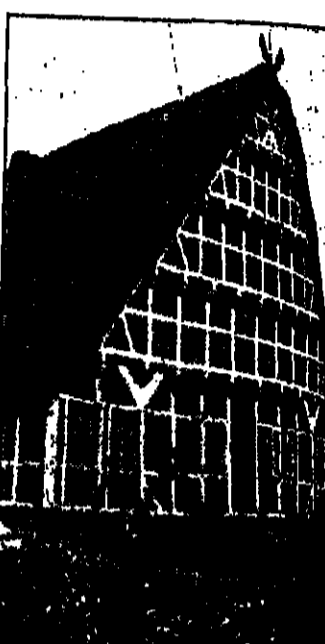
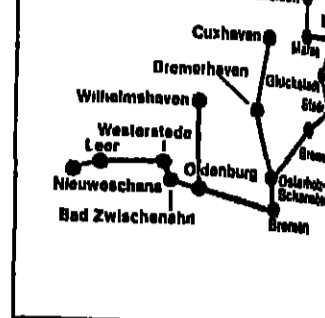
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Europe haunted by spectre of nuclear battleground

Frankfurter
Neue Presse

The possibility of a nuclear war being limited to Europe is a constantly recurring feature of the arms race and disarmament debate. It is a topic as old as Nato itself. The moment the West joined forces to counter the Eastern threat America's European allies were worried the United States might leave them in the lurch. They also feared, time and again, that America might be tempted to wage war in Russia in Europe.

The various deterrent doctrines that have prevailed in Nato's strategic thinking over the years have been drawn up to make US guarantees appear as credible to the Russians and to America's allies.

Whenever the Americans worked on an overall deterrent many were led by them to end up leaving the Europeans to their own devices to save their own skins.

The emergence of Eurostrategic weapons now presents an opportunity of ending the spectre of a war limited to Europe.

It is advisable to take a constant look at the probability or likelihood of any such limited engagement.

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pecially now the Russians have taken threatening the Europeans that it might happen if they allow the Americans to offset the advantage the Soviet Union enjoys by virtue of the arms race it has already undertaken.

The first question one must ask is whether this limited war might be waged. It extends from the Atlantic to the

Would it be possible to limit fighting to between the Atlantic and the Elbe, as Soviet Defence Minister Ustinov has lately sought to suggest?

It is hardly likely that the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, above all, the western part of the Soviet Union could be kept out of the action.

Between them they are both Moscow's major allies and the part of the Soviet Union that accounts for a crucial share of Russia's industrial and agricultural potential.

So the Soviet Union would be clearly at a disadvantage if it were to allow a limited war to be waged in Europe that would be sure to weaken Russia decisively.

Right from the first engagement the Soviet Union would need to try to drag the United States into the fray.

America has a substantial military establishment stationed in Europe as an earnest of its guarantees. The United States could not possibly sacrifice US manpower in Europe without batting an eyelid if the Soviet Union were to try to take Western Europe by surprise.

So both superpowers have every good reason for seeking to avoid a clash in Europe, as 110 million people realised shortly before his end.

On being shown impressive film footage about the V 1 and the V 2 he seems to have immediately appreciated the future significance of what were the first long-range missiles.

Once weapons of this kind had been fully developed, he said, it would no longer be possible to fight wars in Europe because there would no longer be enough room.

Moscow, let it be added, is still a part of Europe.

The danger of destabilisation lies elsewhere, in the evident inability of the

Soviet Defence Minister Dimitri Ustinov has threatened Western Europe with nuclear destruction.

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers, meeting in Prague, have drawn up a comprehensive catalogue of disarmament offers and bids to reach an understanding.

Both moves have the same aim in mind, that of preventing missile modernisation by Nato and the stationing of new US medium-range missiles in Europe.

Marshall Ustinov was critical of the threat to peace posed by hundreds of American medium-range missiles that were to be based in Western Europe.

He conveniently forgot to note that the real threat to peace (and the arms race the Kremlin claims not to want) is posed by the hundreds of Soviet medium-range missiles Moscow already



A soldier says goodbye

General Frederick Kroesen, the Supreme Commander of the American land forces in Europe, is retiring. He makes his official goodbye to Germany here to President Karl Carstens in Bonn. General Kroesen, who survived a terrorist assassination attempt in Heidelberg in 1981, is to be succeeded by General Glenn K. Otis. (Photo: AP)

great powers to do without new developments.

The latest news is that both America and Russia are developing new anti-missile systems, and it hardly matters whether they are anti-missile missiles or rely on laser technology.

The risk remains that one power might establish a lead over the other for a longer period.

The underdog might feel dangerously insecure, while the other could succumb to the temptation to make use of its advantage while the going was good.

This state of affairs demonstrates, moreover, that for reasons of mutual mistrust the world powers are simply not prepared to abide by agreements reached on renouncing one thing or another.

As long as there are no overall, global agreements of this kind the quest to strike a balance in existing, as it were "conventional" sectors must be maintained.

The Soviet bid to make the Pershing 2 out to be a first-strike weapon and a threat to the balance of power is a burlesque lie and a deliberate attempt to disinform.

The US missiles lack the range to be any such thing. It is only capable of reaching targets on the western perimeter of the Soviet Union.

Disinformation and intimidation are also the aims of the assertion that there is an urgent threat of war being waged on the backs of a handful of carefully chosen and strictly limited Europeans.

The greatest deterrent is still the total incalculability of each and every armed conflict in Europe, especially as Europe is of vital importance to both superpowers.

If anything, it is even more vital for the Soviet Union that it is for the United States, which is self-sufficient.

Hans-Joachim Nitz
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 April 1983)

Soviet threat a bid to foil missiles plan

has stationed, threatening Western Europe both militarily and politically.

In spelling out the Soviet retaliation potential he did a number of fellow-travellers in Western Europe a disservice.

Soviet retaliation for the deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles, he said, would be no means be limited solely to Western Europe.

It would inevitably extend to the United States too.

The claim that "Washington plans to use missile modernisation as a means of

decoupling Western Europe from joint defence and waging a nuclear war limited to Europe happens to be part of the stock-in-trade of anti-American propagandists.

The offers of disarmament and renunciation of the use of force made in Prague are by no means uninteresting, but they call for careful analysis.

As long as the Soviet Union uses inaccurate figures at the Vienna troop cut talks and shirks at Madrid its humanitarian and political obligations arising from the Helsinki accords the West should remain sceptical.

Moscow could demonstrate its willingness to disarm much more convincingly by dismantling a missile belt that threatens all Western Europe.

That is a move that would end Nato's missile modernisation plans once and for all.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 April 1983)

WORLD AFFAIRS

Despite Gromyko, door to missiles compromise has not seen slammed

A new coalition has emerged in Bonn: the coalition of the disappointed.

The man behind the mood is Andrei Gromyko, the longest-serving Soviet Foreign Minister and thus the most experienced advocate of the Soviet Union's foreign and security policy interests.

His reaction to President Reagan's suggestion for an interim agreement for the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles has triggered off criticism in (almost) all of Bonn's political parties.

Only the Greens remain silent, a logically consistent taciturnity considering that they regard the Nato double-decision as incorrect anyway.

No matter who suggests an interim agreement, they cannot expect support from this newcomer to the *Bundestag*.

The Greens, who are apparently backed on this point by Oskar Lafontaine, member of the SPD's national executive, are also holding back on commentaries on the negative reactions to the proposals.

However, political realities are not as uncomplicated as that. It looks as if the two superpowers have decided to conduct a large part of their negotiating via public speeches and press conferences, detouring as it were the conference table via public opinion.

Doubts are in order as to whether this approach is conducive to success in Geneva, with prestige and loss of face at risk if compromises backfire.

A solution will certainly not be reached if both sides remain inflexible.

Ever since 30 November, 1981, the United States and the Soviet Union have been negotiating in Geneva on land-based, nuclear "greater-distance medium-range missiles", i.e. those which can travel between 1,000 and 5,500 kilometres (INF talks).

The start to negotiations was made possible after the Soviet Union, despite statements to the contrary made to Chancellor Schmidt in June 1980, declared itself willing to go to the conference table.

It then took another year of deep-rooted reservations by President Reagan towards the Soviet Union in general and towards arms control in particular before talks actually got under way.

Ever since, both negotiating partners have been unable to resolve the central problem: defining the term "balance of power" in such a way as to make it understandable to both sides and thus turn it into an acceptable premise for agreement.

The Soviet Union is basically unchanged in its opinion that this balance already exists and that the scheduled deployment by Nato of medium-range missiles in Western Europe would upset this equilibrium at the expense of the Soviet Union.

During a press conference in which Andrei Gromyko replied to President Reagan's suggestion of a compromise solution in Geneva, this assessment of the situation was again reinforced.

However, there are a few things the Soviet Union must explain in this respect: In May 1978, the Soviet Union also felt that there was a balance of power. Then it had over 108 SS-20 launcher-missiles.

Today, there are 350 of these systems



ready for operation. It can be presumed that each of the launching platforms has at least one triple-warhead missile. The potential is pretty impressive.

Nato, on the other hand, only has plans for the deployment of 572 single-warhead missiles beginning in autumn this year in accordance with the Nato double-decision.

France is only country which today already has 18 of the land-based nuclear medium-range missiles of the kind being discussed in Geneva. The figures therefore speak for themselves.

They certainly do not present a firm footing for Gromyko's diagnosis of a balance of power.

His main argument, therefore, is of a more fundamental political nature.

The Soviet Union lays a twofold claim: first, to being a world power of equal status to the USA; and second, to ensuring its position of superiority in Europe.

Both claims are to be reflected in terms of military capacity.

In this respect, however, the nuclear potentials of France and Britain have a pretty important say in the matter.

The modernisation programmes

under way will mean that these two countries alone will possess over 1,000 medium-range nuclear warheads by the mid-1990s.

This shows that negotiations which are limited to the Soviet-American balance of power alone will ultimately prove inadequate.

The zero option put forward by President Reagan in November 1981, supported by his Allies, was based especially on this bilateral approach.

Reagan and his supporters have taken almost two years to show signs of compromise at the conference table.

Hopefully, the new move will pave the way for the future.

On 29 March, one day before the Easter break, US-negotiator Paul Nitze brought a new three-point plan to the Geneva talks.

The primary aim is to achieve an interim agreement on as low a level of armament as possible.

To this end, Washington agrees to cut down the number of its warheads providing the Soviet Union agrees on a ceiling level valid for both parties.

The zero option will still remain on the conference table, not so much as a package deal but as a permanent reminder of the ultimate objective behind the interim agreement.

The latter is to be regarded as a first step towards the removal of all medium-range nuclear missiles.

Soviet poser: are 27 Pershings better than 54?

these "hawks" by his own ideological stance.

Political pressure at home, however, the bulging opposition of the freeze movement, and his own ambitions to serve another term as President prompted the President into showing signs of greater flexibility.

The new American move is certainly late in coming. And what is more, it's still pretty vague: no concrete facts and figures yet.

It looks as if Reagan is leaving it up to the Soviets to make the next move and come up with a counterproposal.

If they don't it will be easier to pass the buck when looking for a scapegoat for the failure of talks in Geneva.

This may not be the most favourable line of negotiation and Reagan may find it hard to stay this course.

US-negotiator, Paul Nitze, is going to have to lay his cards on the table pretty soon and deliver some kind of draft compromise solution from the West.

At first glance, and even at second, the Soviet reaction is not all that encouraging.

Gromyko reiterated what Moscow has been saying for months: If new US weapons are deployed in Western Europe, the Soviets will have to resort to "countermeasures".

The Soviet Foreign Minister referred to the Reagan proposal as quite simply "unacceptable".

And even if he didn't make any threats, or conjure up horror visions of

According to the third point, negotiators should make efforts to establish the precise number of warheads covered by such an agreement.

Admittedly, there is nothing new about this suggestion, but it sticks to well-worn criteria.

There is no taking into account third-party systems, i.e. no British and no Chinese involvement.

Furthermore, the agreement on global application, which there will be no shifting of the Europa to Asia via relocating the deployment.

Finally, reliable verification facilities are demanded to ensure that parties abide by the agreement.

Gromyko has already rejected the idea of global application, referring to the Soviet Union's security interests in Asia, in particular vis à vis the power China.

Harsh words were uttered in regard to the failure to include the British missiles in the final solution.

However, the Soviet Foreign Minister Josef Strauss should not have slammed shut the door to the possibility of being filled with will.

Even in the eventuality of employment this year, Gromyko threatened to break off negotiations.

The path is still free to a solution.

Both sides must now start talking other's security interests more and thus remain willing and seek a compromise.

The invitation to Chancellor Kohl to visit the Soviet Union announced last week can also be seen as a signal of readiness to negotiate.

Stuttgart Zeitung

But, however, it must be said that no government party has ever made as few promises as the CDU/CSU in the last election.

Helmut Kohl, who likes to think of himself as Adenauer's "grandson and heir," actually thinks in the same simple categories as his great idol: What can be our next aim now? "What can feasibly be done?" (Jaspers).

In his election campaign, Kohl called for "honesty." Max Weber said: "Every individual and the nation as a whole is duty-bound to exercise self-discipline and truthfulness."

This also delineates the framework on which this coalition agreement rests. "In political thought and in philosophy, utopias are the means with which to get a clearer grasp of the significance of realities and make the way to an upturn palpable." (Jaspers)

Like Adenauer in the 1950s, Kohl's election victory in March gave him "the power to risk the extraordinary, though also risking his position of power." (Jaspers)

This is an exact description of Chancellor Kohl's political position. It is also a yardstick by which to measure him; but the coalition paper does not exactly set high standards.

With all this in mind, it is well worth while addressing another Karl Jaspers quote to the chancellor: "Does he say and do what the people in this situation unconsciously demand? Does he face the people as a paragon of frankness and truthfulness? Does he awaken sound impulses in the citizens? Does he lend impetus to the earnestness of the public spirit?"

Using this as a yardstick, the coalition agreement falls short. It is a programme of sober rationalism, written in a style of pragmatic self-moderation and almost embarrassingly "normal" in places. It is more serviceable than inspiring, and there is no sign of vision.

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HOME AFFAIRS

Rapid coalition agreement results in document full of ambiguities



prevailed but Strauss ensured that influence remains.

Here again we have a compromise between the CDU, whose profile has always been somewhat blurred, and the strongly etched Bavarian CSU.

Still, the CDU succeeded in articulating its sympathy for the FDP while the CSU prevailed in insisting that "The Change" be implemented. The FDP successfully stood its ground in between.

Nobody who has analysed the paper can seriously claim that the parties to it have presented the German people with "an historic concept."

The word "reform" that was so badly overtaxed by the first SPD-FDP government (1969-1972) is conspicuous through its absence in the present paper.

The coalition partners deliberately did not artificially streamline their programme. All their plans, arguments and agreements are based on a concept of politics to the effect that hectic frenzy is no programme.

The coalition leaders have thus adopted a stance as formulated by Karl Jaspers in his remarks on Max Weber's political philosophy: Think of the future while doing what is necessary at the moment.

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sus" cemented by cautious declarations of intent. There are formulations such as "It is agreed that a structural reform of the social security pensions scheme is necessary."

Consensus also exists on "the necessity to encourage foreigners to return to their home countries by permitting them to capitalise their social security claims."

The same applies in the economic policy sector: "The federal government asserts its market economy position in foreign affairs and its domestic market policy in Europe."

The maximum of consensus was achieved in the fiscal policy field where the parties to the agreement also seem most determined to follow through: "The fiscal policy must above all bolster the beginning economic upturn and promote growth impulses that will improve the employment situation."

The sections dealing with the budget and fiscal policy are the most concrete. But a closer look at the paper shows few political highlights in this respect.

In parts of the paper the coalition parties seem to be trying to encourage themselves, using such formulations as "should," "will" or indeed "must" to prevent themselves from seeking a way out.

For example: "Wherever possible, investment spending should remain unaffected by the cutbacks."

6 Lacklustre political hodgepodge of declarations of intent and catchphrases

Or: "There must be no shift of burdens from the federal government to the states."

Or: "We will prepare a new income tax rate that will provide relief for the citizen."

The paper then becomes quite concrete on the issue of consolidating the budget: "It is necessary to consolidate federal, state and municipal budgets. Public sector budgets will be improved to the tune of DM38bn to DM40bn between 1984 and 1986, meaning an annual rate of DM6.5bn to DM7bn for the federal budget, DM4.8bn for the states and about DM1.5bn for the municipalities."

The paper is rather accommodating on the issue of the surtax for higher earners: "The surtax is to be levied at the present rate not only for 1983 and 1984 but also for 1985. It is not to be repaid after four but after seven years, i.e. in 1990, 1991 and 1992."

And, finally, the disenchanted citizen is told that he will get no interest on the surtax even under the new arrangement for a later repayment.

Incidentally, the loss in interest corresponds to the amount of the levy.

This is a shaky compromise and there are indications that harsh disputes between the coalition partners have already been programmed.

Deutschlandpolitik and foreign affairs were probably the easiest issues to agree on — at least in outline. But nothing has been laid down in writing.

Security policy has in any event never been a bone of contention between the conservatives and the FDP. They are agreed on upholding the two-track Nato decision and determined to deploy the new generation of intermediate range US missiles should no agreement be reached in Geneva.

The paper says surprisingly little about new initiatives in Bonn's Europe

Continued on page 7

Battle for the stomachs of the world: grains of truth on both sides

The head-on collision over farm exports between the USA and the EEC was predictable; yet the policy makers on both sides feel that their actions have been right.

I'm always surprised to see how the Community gets unjustly criticised for its agricultural policy — especially by the USA," says Paul Dalsager, member of the EEC Commission and concerned with agricultural affairs.

But US policy is guided more by self-interest than by the code of conduct tediously worked out over the years by the Tokyo Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Quipped US Agricultural Secretary Brock in Congress in January: "We must teach somebody a lesson."

At that time, Brock knew that his officials were about to land a huge wheat flour deal with Egypt that would cut Western sales to that country by 90 per cent.

The "lesson" Brock taught the EEC in Egypt is only the most spectacular of a series of US reprisals for what the Washington Administration calls the Community's "impermissible" subsidies of farm exports paid out of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) funds.

The fact is that EEC agricultural exporters would be hard pressed to find buyers if they were to offer the goods at prices paid to Community producers, which are 40 per cent above world market prices.

But then, world market prices are determined by the USA: The most important criterion for the subsidies the CAP pays to exporters is the price on America's domestic market.

Pricing dilemma

These prices, balanced against those of the next most important agricultural exporters (Australia and Canada), account for the difference between world market prices and the higher domestic prices guaranteed by the EEC to its farmers.

EEC exporters can calculate on the basis of internal Community prices because the difference between those and world-market prices is made up for by the CAP.

But due to the EEC Commission's extremely cautious periodical price fixing, Community exporters are in no position to undercut US prices without running up losses.

By the same token, US exporters can do exactly this — not directly but via exceptionally soft export credits or by exporting within the framework of non-repayable development aid.

Thus, for instance, state guaranteed American wheat credits — as in the case of Portugal and Zaire recently — have been granted over periods of up to 40 years.

French wheat salesmen therefore stood no chance in Morocco when their US competitors threw in a road and a harbour installation as a bonus to go with their shipments.

Said Brock to a Congressional committee: "What we're talking about here is credits and not subsidies."

But in its "blitzkrieg action" (Bonn



Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambdorff) in Cairo the US for the first time also resorted to direct and open subsidies that made the overall price for the one million tons of wheat flour about 25 per cent cheaper than the cheapest flour to be had on the market today.

A spokesman for the EEC Commission: "At that price you cannot even buy unharvested grain, let alone flour."

President Reagan's farm exporters have become aggressive lately, as borne out by Department of Commerce Under Secretary Brock who said: "If the Europeans are unable to export without subsidies, let the keep their stuff at home instead of spoiling world markets."

But the EEC Commission figures that America's federal farm subsidies (i.e. without state subsidies) for surpluses amount to 37.6 per cent and are thus in line with the 39.2 per cent subsidies by the EEC and its individual member states.

The Community nations are particularly angered about American accusations that their agricultural policy is unfair and illegal towards America's honest and free-trading farmers.

A paper by the EEC Commission rebuts the American allegations, saying: "On the subject of import restrictions: US criticism of the CAP is ironic because the USA — unlike the EEC — has enjoyed special, temporary, exemptions from GATT rules since 1955 and has not had to abide by GATT regulations governing agricultural goods. Under these exemptions, the USA has been at liberty to apply import restrictions to products which it subsidises, such as cotton, sugar, peanuts and dairy products."

And indeed, the US authorities do not hesitate to close their border to imports from Europe and other countries whenever their own producers chafe under foreign competition. In the past few years, this has applied to cheese, wine and spaghetti.

But by the same token, the Americans raise no end of a ruckus when the Community tries to stop its market from being flooded with American farm products. Thus, for instance, US animal feed (soya bean and maize based) and manioc starch have managed to displace close to half of the Community's feed grain from its own market over the past few years.

Last year, when farm associations — spearheaded by France — called for barriers against further US market shares in Europe in this field, both houses of Congress threatened countermeasures following a motion by representatives from Illinois, the state that houses the two export companies that account for one-quarter of the maize-based animal feed exported to Europe.

The EEC paper: "We are told by the Washington Administration that the USA considers its access to the Community market non-negotiable."

But it was not until the flour coup — the US had meanwhile also started negotiating a subsidised butter deal with Cairo that will make it impossible for

the Community to sell its surplus butter to Egypt — that the otherwise restrained Commission became really angry, saying:

"It is out of the question to re-negotiate the GATT rules governing international trade in agricultural products and the system of export subsidies — especially so shortly after the closing of the Tokyo Round which achieved a balanced agreement after years of protracted and tedious negotiations."

"What is more, it seems arbitrary and illogical to criticise the EEC for its export subsidies without examining the export subsidies of the other parties to the GATT agreement, including such US procedures as surplus sales coupled with 'mixed credits' and other interest subsidies."

In the past 18 months, America has initiated eight GATT investigations of EEC agricultural practices, making it clear, according to the Commission paper, that "the USA expects the Community to change its CAP should the investigations show the procedure to be faulty."

US representatives have said that they want to bring about a change in the GATT rules should the investigations arrive at conclusions unfavourable to America. It's like flipping a coin.

Are Wild West rules to predominate on agricultural markets in the future? Both parties, the USA and the EEC, the world's major producers of farm products, are equally responsible for the present clash.

They have brought it about through protectionist subsidies that virtually guaranteed growing surpluses and through their economic and monetary policies that have made it increasingly difficult for buyers to pay for the goods. Secure and guaranteed domestic markets led to growing surpluses and the need to export.

In the past ten years, EEC farm exports have risen by 513 per cent and those of the USA by 536 per cent.

The trouble is that the most important buyer countries, the populous Third World nations and the East Bloc, are in financial trouble. They have suffered most in the areas most likely to enable them to earn foreign exchange with which to pay for agricultural imports due to America's monetary policy and the world-wide recession.

A trade war between such agricultural surplus countries as the USA, the EEC, Canada and Australia would not necessarily result in advantages for the Third World as a whole.

Some of the developing countries, especially in Africa, could derive short-term profits from "the worst and bloodiest of subsidy wars" which the surplus countries are preparing to wage, according to Brussels experts; but temporarily cheaper farm imports would not solve the Third World's food problems.

The reason is that too low prices paid to their own farmers and too low incomes of the urban population would contribute much more to Third World famine than absolute food shortages.

The representative of one West African nation: "A price war between the major surplus countries would wreck our tediously developed self-sufficiency programme."

Some threshold countries developed to the point where produce enough food for their own populations — such as India and — are also irked by the price policies of the major producers. Applies to countries like Argentina, traditionally an agricultural export.

A Latin American diplomat says: "No Third World country can keep pace with American and European agricultural investments; they keep pace with their aggressive policy. We're falling further behind, to the point where we're not only being pushed out of the market but also out of our own lands."

In the current dispute — the response has been so bad that in the time being to America and the various associations EEC — the Community defence virtually been begged to take part. against American accusations registration time was extended by months until the end of March, arguing that it is only trying to make the show look as if the 8,200 square traditional share of farm exports available will, after all, be taken

Figures substantiate this: EEC countries have accounted for about ten per cent of farm exports in the past two decades (15 per cent in case of wheat). While the volume of farm exports has remained unchanged, the trade volume has multiplied during the same period with the attendant risks.

Dalsager sees the risks clearly. The export volume has been neglected. Another is that the more the current cyclical downturn in world markets makes itself felt, the more the current cyclical downturn in world markets makes itself felt.

USA is feeling the recession more sharply than the Community. The first is by Bunpei Otsuki, president of the Japanese employers' association. There was a time when West Germany's industrial performance was admired by the whole world. But this performance has been declining for years.

US production, which grew until the mid-1970s and was larger than that of the EEC, is rising disproportionately from 1975, increasing by close to 58 million tons while domestic consumption was stagnating or declining.

Small wonder, then, that West Germany is prepared to resort to any means to sell its surplus on world markets.

Backfiring

But the Reagan Administration's inconsistencies in this respect are backfiring now.

Ronald Reagan's campaign to the wheat and maize markets of the American South and Midwest, production, resulting in surplus falling prices.

This, in turn, has resulted in a loss of the foreign affairs secretaries in the foreign affairs secretaries. Europeans were clearly upset when President Reagan decided to sell the Soviets while at the same time attempting to thwart the European gas deal. To top it, he imposed agricultural embargoes on Poland and Afghanistan.

By starting his frontal attack on European farm export markets on the Williamsburg, Va., summit of the most important Western industrial nations in May, the president has turned partners into slanders of his next economic summit against the Soviet Union.

Heino Clausen (Deutscher Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung)

TRADE

Industry lukewarm towards exhibiting in Japan

Plans to hold a German industrial show in Tokyo are being set back by lukewarm German business interest. There are 95 exhibitors so far. But many major industrial names are missing.

Many of those who have agreed to take part are doing so on a modest scale.

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Japan's Prime Minister Nakasone in television interview spoke of the German sickness. This turn of phrase has become a staple of the Japanese press, and it is frequently the self-pitying Germans themselves who fuel the image.

In a recent issue, the daily Asahi Shimbun presented Germany as a warning example of what Japan should become.

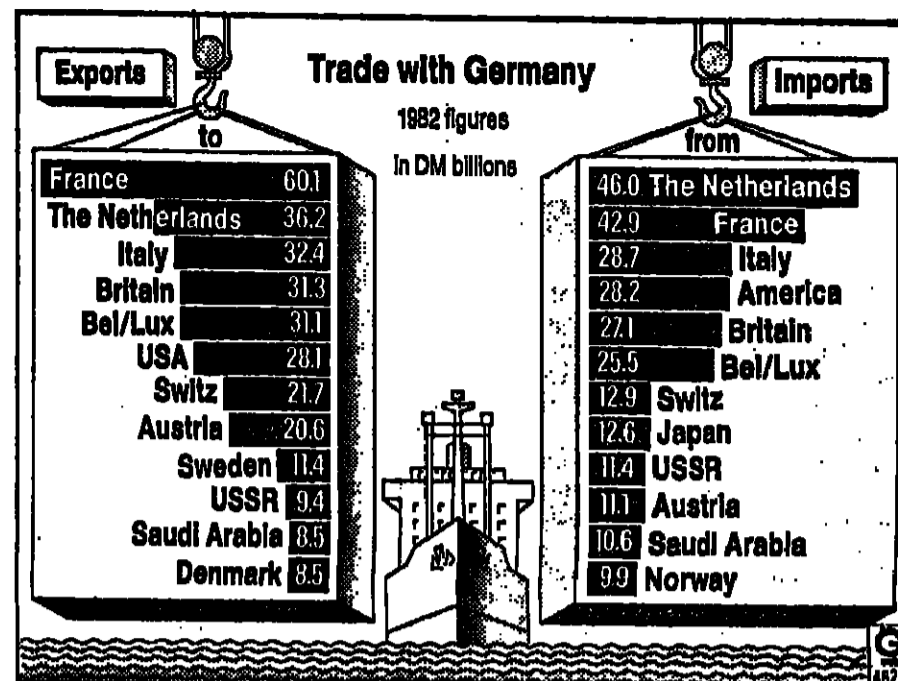
The image of the unmotivated German industrial worker and the German entrepreneur who avoids risks has been so ingrained in Japan that the Japanese ignore such things as the German trade surplus in 1982 and the improvement and present surplus in the current account.

Will therefore take a considerable effort to restore German industry's image as a leading technological power in Japan, the most important competitor.

The Tokyo show will only be able to do so if it is not aimed at short-term gains and is accessible only to the public.

The paper provides a framework for the Tokyo show will only be able to do so if it is not aimed at short-term gains and is accessible only to the public.

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Competition puts exports under increasing competition

German companies have remained competitive on world markets despite tougher competition. Long-range prospects are also favourable, according to a DIHT survey of the Chamber of Foreign Trade (AHK).

But the German export industry has become more vulnerable than the survey seems to indicate.

Quite apart from incalculable political risks and protectionist trends, there are weak points that have been disguised by, among other things, the low deutschemerk exchange rate.

The DIHT survey encompassed 42 countries accounting for more than four-fifths of Germany's foreign trade and 90 per cent of its foreign investments.

The main reasons for the competitiveness is the high quality of its products, the deutschemerk exchange rate; and a favourable assortment of goods tailor-made — especially in the capital goods sector — to match the demand on world markets.

Prices of German goods have risen less steeply than those of competing countries.

But Germany's position does not present a uniform picture on all of the world markets.

The improvement is accounted for primarily by the American and a number of other markets in dollar-oriented countries such as Canada, Mexico and Venezuela. The same applies to New Zealand, India and Saudi Arabia.

Granted, a coalition agreement cannot lyricise nor can it be a declaration of love.

The document expresses agreement on a limited business deal with joint liability. It is boring rather than progressive and of an only just tolerable mediocrity that would perhaps have been applicable to normal times.

All that can be said for it is that it does not resort to any kind of political euphoria.

What is articulated is the politically necessary and obvious.

It is a programme that can be termed politically consistent though it has steered clear of attributing specific values. It is anything but a political timetable for the year 2000.

Alois Rummel (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 April 1983)

Germany's position on European markets has remained largely unchanged, though there are considerable differences from country to country.

While the position of German exporters in France and Britain has improved, it has deteriorated in the Benelux countries.

In Japan and Korea, Germany's position has been declining steeply in the past few years.

German business is coming under increasing pressure from foreign competitors. This applies to both competition from producers in the importing country itself and to foreign competition.

Local competition in Holland, for example, has become stiffer. In addition, German exporters are being thwarted by nationalisation drives and protectionist practices.

Venezuela has introduced protectionist tariffs while France and Britain have embarked on "Buy French" and "Buy British" campaigns.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 25 March 1983)

Level of foreign investment is maintained

German business invested close to DM10bn abroad last year despite the recession at home, according to the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

The lion's share (DM3.275bn) went to the USA, which remains the most important country for German investments abroad.

Last year's DM9.76bn direct investments abroad almost matched the previous year's record figure.

More than DM7.5bn went to industrial countries and DM2.2bn to developing nations.

The USA is followed by Britain (DM1bn), Belgium/Luxembourg (DM750m), Brazil (DM600m) and Holland (DM550m).

Like before, much of the investments abroad was in the road vehicles industry (DM1bn) followed by electrical engineering and banking (DM900m).

Foreign direct investments in the Federal Republic of Germany hit a new record since 1975. The biggest share was accounted for by the USA (DM1.2bn) followed by Britain.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 30 March 1983)

Commission recommends changes in the regulations governing foreigners

Foreigners would have to carry passports with them at all times, and would not be given an extended residence permit if they did not have a job and "a proper and adequate" place to live in.

These are two of the recommendations by a special body set up to investigate changes to regulations governing foreigners in Germany.

The commission is made up of representatives of the Federal government, the Länder and local authorities.

Their report is informative, but is in such abstract language that it is unlikely to help decision making.

Its recommendations have also run into opposition from a variety of pressure groups representing foreigners in Germany.

The issue of foreigners is a major one. It was originally one of the most important themes during coalition talks between the CDU, the CSU and the FDP.

They were unable to pass any resolutions. All they could agree on was that:

- a reduction in the number of foreigners in Germany is necessary
- foreigners should be encouraged to return home
- a limit should be set to the number of family members coming to join the breadwinner in Germany.

The talks revealed big differences on important points. The CDU/CSU, for example, wants the maximum age that foreign children are allowed to come to join their parents reduced from the cur-

rent 16 years to six. The FDP wants no reduction.

A major stumbling block to reaching agreement on policy is the difficulty of deciding on measures that are:

- effective
- legally beyond dispute
- practicable

The pros and cons of the 200-page commission report are not purely legal.

There are just as many references to basic (human rights), human dignity, ethical demands and moral obligations.

It is inevitable that such a report has to be compiled with some detachment.

And yet the 'experts' would seem to have gone too far. The language reflects an exaggeratedly abstract approach.

Those affected by the report's recommendations have termed the wording "cynical" and this is certainly not incorrect. In a first statement issued by a group of foreigners' initiatives and spokesmen for various groups of foreigners, the helpless anger of the target group was articulated as follows:

"The aim is not to overcome the current crisis in solidarity with the foreigners but at their expense.

Foreigners are not respected in their human dignity and their natural desire for equal rights, but are reduced to their economic utility value.

And now that this "utility value" has dropped to zero level or even below zero, the report's main concern would seem to be how to get rid of the now superfluous foreigners as soon as possible. Many of the recommendations aimed

at curtailing the rights of foreigners met with strong criticism.

The church, the DGB (Federation of German Trade Unions), the German Red Cross, the workers' welfare association, the Caritas Organisation, employers federation and the representatives of the Refugees' Commission, have all had their say.

The commission report recommended that those foreigners living permanently in Germany be integrated; that the influx be limited, "in particular the unqualified continuation of the recruitment ban, irrespective of economic developments; and that foreigners should be encouraged to return home. It says that on no account should anybody be forced to leave.

In order to prevent foreigners who come to be trained in Germany from continually extending their period of training and then deciding to stay, the aim will be to prevent "an occupational integration from becoming de facto integration".

Recommendations centre on maximum study periods, limitations of training possibilities and the obligations to learn the German language within the first year.

A residence permit should only then be extended if the foreigner proves that he can earn a living, has a proper and adequate place to live and providing there have been no "substantial violations" of German law.

This recommendation caused most indignation. It means: unemployed fu-

reigners are kindly requested to leave the Federal Republic of Germany if they are not able to find a job for themselves and their families. It comes up to our standards.

Anyone who failed to register with the police, who failed to send their children to school or who did not have a residence permit on time, was his right to stay in the Federal Republic.

There was much opposition to the report. The employers were the fiercest critics, who felt that "adequate living conditions" and "reasonable changing employment" ought to be the foreigner be allowed to stay in Germany.

The churches, unions and other groups, on the other hand, felt that the blame for poor housing and unemployment should not be laid at the door of foreigners.

Socio-political problems could be solved by legal restrictions.

Among other things, the report suggested in an effort to prevent illegal staying: foreigners should be obliged to carry their passports "at all times".

The spokesmen for the foreigners' groups pointed out that the rate for a good job, the Boeing 747, is 20 million American dollars, which compares only known to exist in the race of South Africa.

This would virtually mean that a Boeing 727 can be bought for one, including German taxes, carry an identity card of some six years ago, the rate was 10 million.

Anyone suspected of being a foreigner could then be detained by the authorities at will.

Nobody is denying the fact that the effort put into the report by the commissions in question.

However, this has not reduced the danger that the discussion will be somewhere rather than sell them at a price of integration but around the idea of deportation.

Adolf Wilkens does not have an easy job: he sells second hand aircraft on the used aircraft market.

His current task is to sell five of Luft's old Airbuses, that is, the A300: he'll never get a plane as cheap as this can now," he says with the optimism of the born salesman.

There are about 500 second hand aircraft on the international market, 150 of which are jumbos.

Originally, the smaller Airbus was just to be a reduced version of the larger; however, a completely new aircraft has emerged.

Much of the credit must go to the Luft's engineers with their tough demands on efficiency.

This aircraft, which soaked up DM2bn in development costs, sees in a new generation — as do the competing 757 and 767 models from Boeing.

Jean Filz from Luft's engineering department, says: "We do not expect the great leap forwards such as happened during the sixties and seventies — introduction of jet propulsion for passenger aircraft and the introduction of supersonic aircraft."

"The new technologies will not be so apparent to the (passenger's) eye."

As long as the oil price was low and relatively unimportant in cost calculations, the mind and energies of aircraft engineers centred on increasing speed.

But as fuel prices began rising in 1970 aircraft design became intent on cutting down fuel consumption.

Today, one litre of kerosene costs seventy pfennigs and a Jumbo needs 120,000 litres for a North Atlantic flight.

Luft's engineers have been able to cut down

AVIATION

Would you buy a used plane from this man?

DIE ZEIT

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The new Airbus, the A310... 'like going from a family saloon to a Porsche.'

(Photo: dpa)

Abraham always regarded the smaller A310, which can carry about 200 passengers, as the ideal aircraft for short- and medium-range flights.

Ten years ago, for example, he decided on the A310 even though Airbus Industrie saw the A300 (250 passengers) as the one with the best market prospects, and produced it first.

Nevertheless, it's been worth the wait.

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Luft's engineers have been able to cut down

its fleet's fuel consumption by a third via technological tricks.

Kerosene still accounts for one fifth of total costs, but the new Airbus will help cut down the bill further.

Test flights have shown that the A310 uses between 16 and 20 per cent less kerosene than the A300, which will now be taken out of service.

To get this far, the engineers of the Airbus Industrie and the General Electric and Pratt & Whitney companies have had to really do their homework.

The aerodynamics experts of the British Aerospace company also deserve a word of praise.

If you take a really close look at the bends and waves of the new wings, you will be reminded of the abstract sculptures of the French sculptor Huns Arp.

The wings were bent into the complicated three-dimensional shape with the aid of a jet stream of thousands and thousands of small steel ball-bearings.

This "trans-sonic" wing, as the engineers have called it, which is a blend of engineering technology and aesthetic appearance, is lighter than the traditional wing and, apart from coming across less air resistance, it also provides greater upcurrent.

It's hardly surprising therefore that the wings are the most expensive part of the aircraft.

Jean Filz reckons that the trans-sonic wing will improve performance by 10 per cent.

There's still a lot of work to be done on other parts, particularly on the horizontal and vertical tail-units.

Changes here could improve performance by a further five to ten per cent.

Success in these fields can be expected before the end of the century.

Engineers are also interested in finding out more about new materials — in particular, carbon-fibre enforces synthetic materials.

These could eventually replace aluminium, steel and titanium. Some materials will be tested on the new Airbus only on parts which are not absolutely vital.

This alone will again reduce weight by about 5 per cent. However, for reasons of safety it will take up until the end of the century before such materials will be employed to such an extent as to enable aircraft to become twenty to thirty per cent lighter and thus save considerably on fuel consumption.

Another kind of technological revolution: the number of black boxes with their electronic systems of increasing complexity has increased substantially during recent years.

Alongside the familiar mechanical instruments, the pilots will find the new Airbus equipped with display screens, constantly informing them of the flight situation.

Microcomputers control the functioning of all systems, register errors and disturbances, and show what must be done to overcome the problem at hand.

The bulky manuals that pilots were used to can now — if all works according to plan — be left on the shelves.

Microcomputers will calculate wind speeds, weather conditions and flight weight, now a slight stretch can thus be saved.

However, engineers are still wary of leaving the actual flying of the aircraft

Continued on page 10

Politicians run into criticism in talks about aliens' problems

exists and which is usually based on a lack of understanding of the true nature of the problems at hand.

They also rejected the current efforts by politicians aimed at coming to terms with the "problem of foreigners".

Bleicher found fault with the fact that there has been no special policy approach on this issue during the past and that the announcement by the CDU/CSU to cut back the number of foreigners by half by 1990 did not represent a true "contribution towards the often proclaimed social integration of foreigners".

Politicians must wake up to the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany had in fact become an immigration country over the past few years.

A Caritas representative said all "worker immigrants" who have been here for many years should be allowed to stay if they wish.

The recruitment ban must be maintained, then work could start on proper integration.

However, the question was asked as to what exactly social integration means. Bleicher demanded that the foreign workers be allowed to "have an equal say in their future".

In many cases, however, this is prevented by the aliens law, which among other things, limits the age of children who can join their parents in Germany.

President of the Church Council, Hild, reinforced the demand by the Evangelical Church for equal treatment before the law. "The legal system reflects our understanding of society and of human relations."

Of course, there are fears among the German population about unemployment and the economic situation.

Many German workers, particularly the less qualified, regard the foreigners as competitors and not colleagues.

Nevertheless, the Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne confirmed that even with an unemployment level of 2.5 million the German economy could not survive without its *gastarbeiter*, its guest workers.

The foreigners must not become the "scapegoats" for the present crisis.

Hild also spoke out against opinions that a foreign "infiltration" of German society is under way. On the contrary, contact with persons from another culture could be seen as an enrichment.

After all, many Germans spent lots of money each year to get to know other cultures.

This problem was a particular challenge for Christians and the Church.

For the Bible stated that God made all men in his likeness and that God is the "patron of strangers".

The Christian showed his true rela-

tionship to God in his relations with strangers.

Suffragan Bishop Dick for Cologne, who recently took over as spokesman for questions with foreigners during the Conference, underlined that the church leads to basic rights which be included (and restricted) in law and economic compromises.

The Church had the function of acting as an advocate for these function which is at present in the test by the Moslems.

The churches, therefore, were clearly pleased that the age of children who could join their parents in Germany had not, at least for the time being, been lowered.

The special parliamentary spokesman for foreigners, Frau Funke, said that it was a good that the demand by the Minister of the Interior, Friedrich Zimmermann, "runs contrary to human rights" had been "cleared out of the way".

However, Frau Funke criticised general criticism of politicians, pointing out that there are informed and informed.

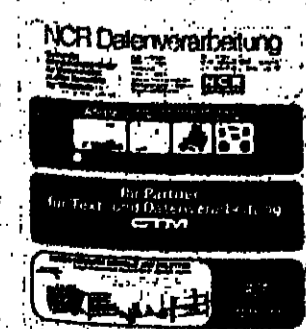
These politicians still had to deal with many demands, such as the demand for equal legal treatment of the move towards increased integration.

The educational institutions, churches and unions will be asked to help their efforts to remove racism via information, contacts and "national conformation".

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 17 April 1983)

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QUESTS

Looking for water under the barren wastes of the Sahara desert

Barren wastes, an endless sea of sand and rocks which confuse the senses. Temperatures of 50 degrees centigrade. The camels find it difficult to keep moving. We've covered about 800 kilometres since leaving Murzuk oasis.

These were some of the impressions of German Africa researcher Gustav Naehligal who in 1899 was the first European to reach the Tibesti mountains, the "roof of the Sahara."

This mountain range is a chain of extinct volcanoes, and towers 3,400 metres above its desert environment, a steep island of rock in the desert's sandy ocean.

Decades later, interest yet again centres on the forlorn ravines of the Tibesti.

In 1982 Uwe Georg, a Sahara researcher from Hamburg, described this area in his expedition report:

"Beneath the eroded rocks we gazed down upon a sight which cannot be compared to anything else on this earth. In the middle of this vast desert, where in many part it only rains a few times each century, we found ourselves staring at a deep blue sea churned up by the wind. The surf roared between the palms and the spray was carried into the desert."

The lake of Ouninanga Serir described here runs contrary to the usual picture of the waterless Sahara.

The desert waters, almost as large as Lake Ploen, are said to be one of the miracles of nature in this region.

Although at least six metres is taken off the water-level each year by natural evaporation (corresponding to about 180 million cubic metres volume) and despite the fact that there has been no rain here for eleven years, the water-level always returns to the same height.

Without support from the ground water, the lake in the north of Chad would evaporate and dry up completely within four years.

Lake Ouninanga Serir clearly proves that there are large reserves of water beneath the Sahara desert, particularly in the reservoir rock of the Tibesti mountains.

Geographer and also Sahara researcher Helmut Schiffer, from Cologne, feels that the term "sea of sand" could prove to be a misnomer.

"There are at least 26 lakes in the Sahara and large reserves of ground water. Scientists are now convinced that there are so many billions of cubic metres of water in this 'Bahr bela ma' (Arabic for 'sea without water') that we shall soon be talking about the 'sea beneath the Sahara'."

The exploration to discover these water reserves is well under way.

Countries such as Egypt, Libya, Algeria and Morocco are busy propagating a "departure to the desert," the setting-up of new oases, settlement and industrial centres, huge farms and irrigation plants.

The problems in Egypt are particularly urgent, 97 per cent of this country consisting of desert.

The fertile area near the Nile valley and delta is suffering from over-population and is gradually being ecologically "drained."

The words spoken by the French geologist Raymond Furon still hold true: "Even in the era of uranium and oil,

water remains the most valuable raw material in the Sahara."

Not only is it essential for the survival of humans and the irrigation of grain fields and vegetable plantations, the extraction of other raw materials such as ores, crude oil, natural gas and phosphates is impossible without large reserves of water.

With its almost nine million square kilometres, the Sahara accounts for just under a third of Africa's total surface area.

Eighty per cent of this desert has less than 50 millimetres of rain a year and 1.5 million square kilometres have virtually none at all.

In Europe, for example, annual rainfall is between 600 and 900 millimetres.

The Sahara is the world's largest dry area and it determines the face of a dozen states with a total population of one hundred million.

One of the most disturbing developments in recent years is the speed with which this desert is spreading in a southerly direction.

To take stock of the ground-water reserves in the eastern part of the Sahara is the objective behind a project by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Society for the Promotion of Research), in which about 100 scientists from 20 West German institutes are taking part.

Headed by geologist Professor Eberhard Klitzsch from the Technical University in Berlin, the project concentrates on a desert area measuring 1,000 times 1,500 kilometres.

Its interest centres on the structure and the development of the Sahara. This includes research on climatic and ecological changes, geological structures and ground-water and raw material reserves.

Many fields of science are involved in the society's programme entitled "Geo-Scientific Problems of Arid Areas." It includes geologists, ecologists and mineralogists.

The research area finds itself bordering three countries: Egypt, Sudan and Libya.

German researchers expect to find extensive ground-water reserves, which could be used for the Egyptian oasis and settlement project in the "New Valley" region.

Continued from page 9

up to the computer (very often the case already with military aircraft).

As Filz points out, "The fully electronic passenger aircraft with its revolutionary cockpit will remain the dream of many ambitious engineers in the field of aviation."

"However, to maintain that a plane will only need half the present level of fuel in ten years time is a more realistic assumption."

The increased use of electronics is the first step towards turning the flight captain into a flight manager.

At the same time, however, it means that one job is on the way out: the flight engineer.

The cockpit of the future will only require two people to handle operations: the pilot and the co-pilot.

Compared to the earth's long history, the Sahara only recently turned into a desert. Only 5,000 years ago many parts of the present-day desert were grassland or savannah regions, and woods, lakes, rivers, moorland and bushland were its geographical characteristics.

During this damp period the rainfall levels in the East Sahara figured at about 300 millimetres — as much as the present-day figure for the North African Mediterranean coast.

The average temperatures were about five to seven degrees lower than today's. This picture of a "wet" Sahara has been backed up by geological, palaeontological and archaeological findings.

The rock paintings in the Sahara mountains provided the first signs. Here, there are pictures of big game, herds of cattle and hunting scenes, a veritable art gallery of the green Sahara during the New Stone Age.

Up to now, over 30,000 rock paintings have been discovered. The cover a period of 9,000 years, the development from the nomadic hunters to the shepherds and farmers.

The water reserves expected in this area are the result of this damp period in history which lasted in varying degrees of intensity for about 40,000 years.

American scientists have been able to draw up a surprisingly accurate map of the underground water channels using satellite photos and radar.

Some of them were taken during last year's voyage by the Columbia space shuttle.

These instruments were able to make out river valleys, lakes and delta landscapes which are now buried beneath five metres of sand.

Some of the river valleys, 15 kilometres wide, once made their way through the desert. This was confirmed with the aid of radar echoes.

Rivers as large as the Nile once flowed from the central Sahara regions to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

The precipitation during these earlier periods has been stored in the seven large basins in the Sahara.

The "missing sea of the desert" is made up of ground water and deep

Cockpit, pilots and flight engineers union, is up in arms on this issue. It demands that the 'third man' be kept.

This organisation will have plenty of trouble over new developments in electronics, and it cannot share the fascination shown by the engineers at Airbus Industrie.

It has expressed its worried about faults and failures in the systems, even though each device has a threefold check and double check.

The 20 Lufthansa crews trained on the Airbus A300 are not so apprehensive.

As flight captain Walter Wollrab, the top A310 pilot, enthusiastically remarked: "Changing from the A300 to the A310 is like moving out of a family saloon car into a Porsche."

Heinz Michaels (Die Zeit, 1 April 1983)

LITERATURE

Writers in exile: flight from the Nazi regime

water in the pores of the rocks and stones.

Ground-water zones reach depth of 4,000 metres. If luck can hit the ground-water at 100 and 100 metres.

The largest underground reservoir in the East Sahara are in Libya, the Chad Basin (where there is an inland sea with an area of square kilometres: today this is reduced to 15,000 sq km).

The research by the German has confirmed that the ground-water beneath the Sahara is much thicker than at first assumed.

However, before such resources can be tapped, fundamental questions have to be answered.

One of the most important relates to the use of the water from the Sahara's damp.

Or are the water zones replenished by flows of ground-water from surrounding the Sahara, for the high mountains of the Sahel and the wet parts of West Africa?

The Sahara states are hoping new data will help them in the set up huge settlement and projects and turn the desert into land and grazing land.

According to estimates by the area of irrigated land in Tunisia could be doubled.

An extensive irrigation system has been set up in the Libyan oases.

In the middle of the desert, lucerne are grown and sheep are imported from New Zealand for milking. The aim is to cultivate grass.

During the initial euphoria, the Libyan government was to settle 6 million people in the basin.

Another most ambitious project attempt to irrigate 200,000 hectares in the Egyptian "New Valley" project area.

However, the scientists who are covering new reserves remain in the Sahara and have already

Many parts of the Sahara are suffering the after-effects of the exploitation of natural resources.

Oil drilling, mining and oil pumping have led to drops in the water level of up to 30 metres in some places.

The vast amount of energy and technology needed to reach the reserves also moderates any fancy scientists may have.

In the scientific cost-benefit experts may find that their green Sahara is too much of a mirage.

Professor Klitzsch estimates water reserves beneath the eastern of the Sahara at about 50,000 kilometres (although this sounds ideal, the Nile transports this amount of water to the sea in two years).

Berlin geologists expect 300,000 kilometres for the Sahara as a whole.

However, the high salt and content (over two per cent in cases) and the depths of drilling would make the "desert water" unusable to a limited extent.

What is more, the fact that a deal of these reserves may be water and as such cannot be used also sets a limit to hopes.

Willy Lotz (Rheinischer Merkur, 1 April 1983)

years ago, many of the most prominent German writers were forced by circumstance to go into exile.

Attempts made by this literary to escape the claws of the Nazi form an independent period in the history of German literature.

Most of the important representatives of German literature had been "exiled" during the Nazi period.

Germany is here, inside our literary history. This motto written by Kantorowicz formed the title to a manifesto published on 1st May, 1933, in Paris.

The émigré writer is expected to constantly remain aware of the fact the living is the representative of Germany in the present and future, intellectual life.

This was the opinion expressed by the German writer, Kurt Kersten, years later.

Thomas Mann had a most concise way of describing the literary state of the time:

"Where I am, you will find German literature," he remarked before departing for the United States in 1939 (the Second World War had already started).

This self-appraisal by exiled German writers, the feeling that they were the representatives of the "true Germany," to be found throughout the world.

However, the prophetic statement made by Carl von Ossietzky in the "Weltbühne" in 1932 looked like a tragic reality: "Oppositional forces which have left Germany will to settle 6 million people in the basin."

The mass exodus of German writers had not begun immediately after Hitler's takeover of power.

The cultural life which had established itself in the Weimar Republic continued.

As if nothing had happened," the Berlin and S. Fischer publishing houses given for manuscripts.

The "Berliner Tageblatt" still went on publishing articles by Alfred Kerr, Ernst Polgar, Thomas Mann and Erich

Leonhard Frank, Ernst Weiss, Ludwig Marcuse could still be seen in their writing meeting-places in Berlin.

Erwin Kisch, much hated by the Nazis, in fact returned to Berlin on 30th January, 1933 to write about Hitler's government.

The new rulers in Germany were too involved in other things in February 1933.

They could not be bothered to waste time preventing speeches and slogans given by writers.

Ernst Heinrich Mann, who finally decided to leave the country after many requests to do so by friends and acquaintances.

For example, by the French ambassador, was allowed to travel freely and across the border.

Of course, a few precautionary measures had to be taken, but Mann could be certain that "these energetic and determined persons have better things to do."

It was just regarded as an historical curiosity: everyone waited for the

storm to pass," said Alfred Döblin, who gave in to the requests of friends and left for Switzerland on 28th February, 1933.

Brecht, Becher, Ludwig Marcuse, Bruno Frank and Karl Wolfskehl also took their leave of Nazi Germany on the same day.

Convinced that the ghost haunting Germany would soon disappear, the majority of German writers decided to flee.

The Reichstag fire on 27th February triggered off this mass exodus.

This was the "d-day" which many had predicted without really believing it would ever come: the transition to a system of open fascist dictatorship.

During the weeks and months which followed, the list of exiles grew longer: Anna Seghers, Ernst Toller, Carl Zuckmayer, Arnold Zweig, Klaus Mann, Leonhard Frank, Hermann Kesten, Robert Neumann, Max Hermann-Neisser and many more.

Only a few of them were personally intimidated.

In all probability, "nothing much would have happened" to most of them if they had shown certain degree of conformity.

As Hans-Albert Walter, who has carried out special research on this subject, points out, fascism would have "even accepted Marxist writers if they had reflected in the right places."

German writers left their native homeland on a huge scale and regarded this as an expression of their political and moral protest.

Hans Mayer refers to this period as a special case in the "tragic history of literature."

For writers in centuries gone by had only been exiled for a limited period and were allowed to return after each flight.

As Brecht laconically remarked, the Chinese lyricists and philosophers, for example, went into exile just like others "go to the academy."

Another great German 19th century writer, Heinrich Heine, maintained that "fleeing would be easy if we didn't have to drag our Vaterland around with us on the soles of our feet."

Thomas Mann took a different stance on the situation in exile:

"It is a strange experience," he commented in his diary during a period in which he gave a set of talks abroad, "to notice how your own country moves away from you when you are abroad, as if it will never return."

The German writers in exile wrote "with their faces towards Germany," however, no-one stood behind them.

"Why should foreigners be interested in us, if our own country isn't?" asks a German scholar in Bruno Frank's "exile" novel *Der Reisepass* (The Passport).

In his Californian exile, Heinrich Mann took stock of the situation:

In his book *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (Summing an Era), he writes that "an era of state propaganda will leave



Wolfgang Reinbacher as Odön von Horvath and Andreas Weissert as Berthold Brecht in *Geschichten aus Hollywood*. (Photo: Lore Bernbach)

British black humour and German literary refugees

Peter Hampton's play *Geschichten aus Hollywood* (Stories from Hollywood), which had its European premiere performance in Düsseldorf, is more than just another effort to re-appraise German history.

The subject-matter deals with the German intellectuals living in exile in America between 1938 and 1950.

However, the play, directed by Peter Palitzsch, is not merely a (British) reminder of the 50th anniversary of Hitler's take-over in 1933.

Many of the *Geschichten* have a documentary character; others are pure fiction.

The author has successfully managed to blend both elements into an infectious and rousing "theatre within the theatre," full of British black humour.

Nobel prize winner Thomas Mann is seen earning his dully bread by giving talks throughout the USA, a man who can only follow his own (aesthetic) instinct and prefers to continue his work on *Lotte in Weimar* rather than become involved in decidedly political activities.

His brother, Heinrich Mann's reputation depended "on the legs of Marlene Dietrich" (The Blue Angel).

Bert Brecht and Odön von Horvath are forced to write idiotic film scripts to survive.

Heinrich Mann's wife Nelly is seen despairing in her isolation (a brilliant performance by Marianne Holka) and finally commits suicide.

Just a few of the scenes in Hampton's play.

Realities and "theatrical licence" diverge when the audience sees Brecht (Andreas Weissert), Thomas (Wolfgang Arps) and Heinrich Mann (Hans Schulze) meet again and again in Hollywood, film studios and during private parties.

In reality, the fundamental differences in their literary and philosophical attitudes meant that they didn't have all that much to say to one another and very rarely met.

Odön von Horvath (Wolfgang Reinbacher), who keeps the play going as a mixture of maître de plaisir, presenter and analyst, may well have found the grotesque world of Hollywood quite amusing, had he not in fact died in Paris in 1938 and not as in Hampton's play in a Californian swimming pool in 1950.

There is a constant change in the style of production, and Bert Brecht is "quoted" more than once.

For example, when the lights unexpectedly go on in the theatre — because (according to Brecht) the audience must never forget that it is sitting in the theatre.

Wolfgang Platzek (Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 28 March 1983)

Continued on page 12

Illiterate: if you can't read this, then that's what you are

Otto works as a dispatcher for a drug company in Berlin. He has to ensure that cartons of drugs go off properly to the various city hospitals. What worries him most is that somebody will discover his problem; Otto is illiterate.

This is a problem he shares in varying degrees with an estimated three million others in West Berlin and West Germany.

They are the people who tell bank tellers or post office clerks that they left their glasses at home or put the right arm in a sling before dealing with the authorities so that they can ask to have the forms filled in for them.

EEC Commission estimates that there are between 10 and 15 million illiterates and semi-illiterates in the Community.

Statistics say nothing about whether this number includes people who can only just write "Love, Erna" on a postcard or whether it includes those who can read but not write.

Literacy drives for adults have been in existence in the Federal Republic since 1980. Mostly they are uncoordinated, working alone. Frequently, the drives are organised by the *Volkschulchule* (a nation-wide adult education organisation), vocational schools and prisons.

Otto, who is in his mid-20s, attends weekly classes held by a private organi-



sation, *Arbeitskreis Orientierungs- und Bildungshilfe* (AOB) (work group for orientation and education assistance), in Berlin's Kreuzberg district.

The classes are on the fourth floor of a dilapidated old factory. There are six classrooms in which 26 part-time teachers try to teach 122 illiterates the basics of reading and writing — something regular elementary school was unable to teach them for one reason or another.

The teachers use only the morpheme method (MM) in which words are broken down into their smallest meaningful components that are learned like the alphabet. Only 300 morphemes instead of 4,000 words are needed to be able to read and write 80 per cent of an average text.

Monika, 20, is an exemplary student. She is married with one child and has a job as a cleaning woman in an office building.

Her employer has now offered to promote her, but if she accepted she would have to be able to file simple reports.

Peter, 27, who works for the council,

has the same problem. Like his brother, he had a speech impediment as a child. But since his parents could only afford to send one child to a special school, Peter had to go to a normal school.

He learned nothing and remained illiterate. Now, he could get a good job with the trade union; but they do not like the way he mis-spells.

After a few weeks of instruction, the teachers in the Kreuzberg factory become more than just teachers. They turn into friends and helpers. Frequently, they have to take a firm stand when somebody wants to pry his girlfriend out of this "idiotic course" because she would be much more use to him working than battling with the alphabet.

The teachers have published a proper printed booklet entitled "Shopping and What I Have to Know about It. Consumer Education for Adult Illiterates" by Helga Rübsamen and Regina Finke.

Shopping can be a disastrous experience for illiterates — especially when the shelves of a supermarket have been reorganised and familiar items are no longer where they should be. When that happens it is no rarity for somebody to pick up shoe polish in a tube instead of toothpaste.

Newcomers to the courses are encouraged to relate such experiences. In fact, they may talk about everything that moves or troubles them.

The realisation in class that there are others with the same problem gives a sense of security.

The actual teaching is preceded by a preliminary three-month course in which classes of about 15 meet once a week. The aim here is to overcome the feeling of isolation and failure.

This is followed by very small actual two-hour evening classes twice a week to be attended for two to three years.

Some of the pupils come by car because illiterates have been able to hold driving licences ever since a court ruled that traffic signs are mere symbols and that signposts giving names of places have no legal relevance in terms of traffic law.

One of the problems with adult literacy education stems from the fact that some local authorities want the pupils to attend a *Volkschulchule* course in the last months of their literacy education.

These courses are widely popular, but those who attend frequently complain that the demands are too stringent as in a regular school they feel overtaxed.

And indeed, it was this school in the conventional manner turned many illiterates into literate.

Another problem is the literacy courses. The first of these held in Kassel were in the *Volkschulchule* building.

Berlin drive is now in the white collar workers union and *Arbeitszentrum Schlachthof* (abattoir centre). The Protestant Church said it would examine whether to join the backers.

The AOB in Kreuzberg gets its money through Section 39 of the Federal Social Welfare Act. But qualification criteria are in each case a problem case in itself.

Section 39 governs welfare for the "therapy of people with disabilities."

Even if the AOB continued down applicants to maintain a number of participants in the courses (most of them make small contributions out of their own pockets) still need DM1500,000 a year to run the operation.

But at present the AOB has more than half this amount in virtually no donations.

Schooling for illiterates is headed by the *Volkschulchule* in Bremen, Frankfurt and Munich.

In Frankfurt, the Social Welfare pays for individual instruction and private teachers provided by schools.

"But the learning process is a long one in the Federal Republic," many is also a case of ignoring an existing problem. It is, how long will it take public consciousness becomes a social problem that is more curious and peripheral than the one that school itself has produced this sort of deficiency.

It is questionable whether or not further education is to fight illiteracy because "it is giving some thought to the adult illiterates are not only for what school was unable to teach them but that school itself has produced this sort of deficiency."

Otto, who can only guess the number of illiterates, would certainly have to say on the subject.

Eberhard Neumann (Die Welt, 21 March 1983)

MEDICINE

Far from piddling results in hormone research

Nobel Prize winner Adolf Butenandt, who began a huge trade in hormones, has turned 80.

It was in the waning 1920s that this trade was set in motion in Berlin. Prompted by Butenandt, the pharmaceutical firm Schering sent out a contact stud farms throughout Europe and buy the urine produced by pregnant mares.

Transported in milk churns painted blue to prevent confusion, some 10,000 litres of horse urine flowed into Berlin every year.

The chain of churns ended in Adlerhof, a Berlin suburb, in a 20,000-litre wooden vat.

Using steam heat, the liquid that had been started to decompose was thickened by evaporating its water content — a process that produced an unrecognised stench. In fact, Butenandt and his colleagues were always assured a seat on the city's public transport because everybody gave them a wide berth.

What Butenandt, who was 24 at the time, wanted to achieve with this mammoth and malodorous operation was to isolate hormones.

Delving into hormones was seen as a sort of scientific roulette at the time. Butenandt and his assistant, Erika Ziegler, risked the game — and won.

The thickened urine concentrate was processed further to the point where, after two years of tedious work, it yielded a minute quantity of tiny crystals: estrogens, the basis of all estrogens, the female sex hormones.

Ten years later, Butenandt was awarded a half share of the Nobel prize for Chemistry. But political circumstances at the time prevented him from collecting the money that went with the prize.

"Money, didn't really matter," says the octogenarian today. And indeed, at that time — some 50 years ago — he was beset by problems that money could not have solved. The question that occupied him was whether the crystals he had distilled after all his work were really the sought-after hormones.

The final proof was provided by the male rats and mice in his institute's basement: When injected with minute quantities of the concentrate, the rats' mating cycle was set in motion, providing indisputable proof that the crystals in the test tubes were female hormones.

It took another two years before Butenandt came up with yet another success in the hormone field.

Using 15,000 litres of urine from human males, he managed to produce the male hormone androsterone in pure form.

Though nobody at that time thought of such a lucrative and important use of hormones as in the case of the Pill, Butenandt's research career was nevertheless ensured and he had meanwhile married his assistant, Erika von Ziegler.

Even when the hormone boom got off the ground after World War II, Butenandt made no money out of it. Though he had a stake in the Schering

were confiscated by the Allies at a time when the boom was about to set in.

In 1944, Butenandt's Berlin institute was moved to Tübingen; and in 1948, when he turned down an appointment at Basel University, the Tübingen students were so overjoyed as to honour him with a torchlight parade.

Even so, in 1953 he left Tübingen to go to Munich where he was offered excellent research facilities.

He was later appointed head of the Institute for Physiological Chemistry at Munich's Medical School and also became head of the Max Planck Institute for Biochemistry.

He retained his laboratory facilities after retirement in 1972.

After his discovery of hormones, Butenandt caused two more international sensations: In 1959 he succeeded in producing the sex lure of a butterfly, a so-called pheromone that, through the sense of smell, brings males miles. The discovery was later to play an important practical role in agriculture as an insecticide.

In 1960 he became the focal point of the public discussion over university reform in this country.

The writer, Dr Jürgen-Peter Stössel, has written a book on psychosomatic medicine called *Das Menschenmögliche*, to be published this year by Fischer Verlag.

Thure von Uexküll has turned 75. I first met him at the 4th Workshop of the German College for Psychosomatics in Ulm.

This meeting of the college which he founded in 1974 and whose manager he was until 1981 also marked Uexküll's last participation in a scientific event at Ulm University.

The college's basic concept, which he helped draft and ably represented while a professor of internal medicine and psychosomatics at Ulm University from 1967 to 1976, has long been regarded as exemplary in the field of medical training.

Among the salient features of the concept were lecturing at the bedside and the inclusion of psychological and social subjects in the medical curriculum. This is now required as part of the qualification procedure for doctors that came into force in 1973.

We talked about this when I recently saw him at his Freiburg retirement home. He was instrumental in the introduction of psychosomatic wards at Ulm's University Hospital.

"But since these wards are staffed primarily by psychoanalysts they are not really entitled to bear this description. The wards are essentially psychoanalytical training and research institutes or neurosis clinics. Important though all this might be, for basic research, these wards tend to be isolated from normal clinical work, thus forfeiting the chance provided in Ulm by the establishment of a new scientific-medical academy," he told me.

Initially, there was some experimenting with a departmental system in the field of internal medicine. Though this promotes specialisation, it also calls for cooperation among specialists as part of the daily routine to prevent the individual from losing his overview.

He had meanwhile succeeded Otto Hahn as the president of the Max Planck Society for the Promotion of Science.

In 1967 he warned of a stagnation of research due to shortage of funds.

The dramatic developments at Germany's universities irked the devoted scientist to the point where — in 1969 — he called for better basic research to stem the brain drain.

A heated dispute with various scientific organisations ensued and led to demands for his resignation on the grounds of opposing reforms.

Butenandt refused to resign and, by changing the election procedures for the Max Planck Society Executive Board, he managed to save the Society from those who were bent on destroying it.

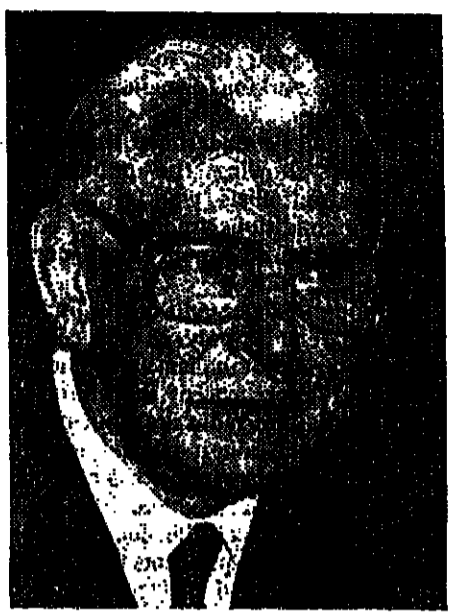
In 1972, he was instrumental in changing the Society's statutes and thus giving younger researchers more say.

In 1978 he said it was most deplorable that the universities permitted themselves to "have the new universities law foisted on them."

As he sees it, the old type of German university with its scientific achievements is gone forever.

Butenandt, who has always been essentially a basic researcher, has nevertheless also appreciated the practical significance of applied research.

He says that progress in basic research must eventually lead to the re-



Adolf Butenandt... always a basic researcher. (Photo: dpa)

sults' practical application — frequently in the most unexpected way.

This thesis can also be reversed: Neglecting basic research must inevitably lead to a deficit of ideas and this, in turn, must have a disastrous effect on the competitiveness of the nation. This is exactly what was happening today.

Adolf Butenandt has never stopped demanding of students, scientists and universities what he himself has always been prepared to give: performance, singlemindedness of purpose and quality.

Klaus Bruns (Die Welt, 23 March 1983)

Pioneer in the field of psychosomatics

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Initially, there was some experimenting with a departmental system in the field of internal medicine. Though this promotes specialisation, it also calls for cooperation among specialists as part of the daily routine to prevent the individual from losing his overview.

The project, headed by Karl Köhle from 1972 to 1979, enjoyed Uexküll's able guidance.

In his eulogy marking Uexküll's 68th birthday in 1976, Köhle paid tribute to his teacher for his attempts "to convince with businesslike arguments in the dispute over university policy. His way of promoting psychosomatic medicine in everyday clinical life is in keeping with the patient's confidence that doctors will not ignore substantiated scientific findings in the long run, thus benefiting the people under their care."

Looking back on his work, Uexküll told me: "We underestimated the opposition and did not provide the necessary contractual safeguards for our reform experiment in a hostile environment."

The difficulties of psychosomatic medicine are not so much due to shortcomings in research (there is ample convincing evidence of the importance of psychological factors in ailments and their therapies); they are primarily due to organisational problems.

But appearances can be deceptive. The internal medicine ward of the District Hospital in Tegernsee, headed by Peter Bayerl since 1978, proves that top-notch physical care for the patient can go hand-in-hand with psychosomatic care — and not only at university hospitals.

Since the German College for Psychosomatics promotes such efforts, Thure von Uexküll suggested that a committee of experts evaluate the work at the Tegernsee Hospital — especially in view of the fact that Bayerl had been given notice without mentioning a reason.

In mid-February, Uexküll wrote to the district commissioner, Wolfgang Gröbl, sending him the committee's report to the effect that the discontinuation of the Tegernsee project would cause an irreplaceable loss and recommending that Dr Bayerl's contract be extended.

Jürgen-Peter Stössel (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 March 1983)

Was emigriert sich in Deutschland? Wie sieht Deutschland die Welt? Antworten auf diese Fragen gibt Ihnen DIE WELT, Deutschlands größte, überregionale Tages- und Wirtschaftszeitung.

Que se passe-t-il en Allemagne? Comment l'Allemagne regarde-t-elle le monde? Vous trouverez les réponses à ces questions dans DIE WELT, le quotidien allemand indépendant, suprarégional et économique.

O que é que acontece na Alemanha? Como vê a Alemanha o mundo? As respostas a estas perguntas encontram-se na DIE WELT - o diário independente, nacional e económico da Alemanha.

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Writers in exile

Continued from page 11

literature powerless." "It will always be exiled, whether abroad or at home."

Hans-Albert Waller is undoubtedly right when, at the start of his 6-volume presentation of German literature in exile (not yet completed, J. B. Metzler Verlag, Stuttgart) he explains "that the political and social developments which led to emigration from Germany had set in before 1933, and... that the impact of this period will be felt long after 1949/1950."

Numerous statements by the writers in question confirm this. And what was the situation in 1945?

"Our emigration has just begun that the war is over," says Oskar Graf.

The boom period for the German authors in exile during the war cannot hide this fact.

This sudden interest began in the sixties (after 20 years of indifference) and brought to light a vast number of scientific treatises and literary works during the war period.

"Our best client is posterity's conscience," Hans Söhl wrote in New York, forty years after emigrating from his native Germany.

Manfred Mann (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 March 1983)

A special Bundestag commission has investigated the role of women journalists working for radio and television.

The analysis underlined the importance of showing the public how women journalists work, what their working conditions are like in an effort to do help more women enter journalism.

Although 52 per cent of the population are female, only 33 per cent of those entering journalism are women.

Only 17 per cent of the editors in print media and radio are women; five per cent of the editors-in-chief are; and no single daily newspaper has a woman in the top editorial position.

98.5 per cent of the commentators and foreign correspondents working for the ARD broadcasting channel are men. Even women's magazines such as the popular *Brigitte* are run by men.

Many women fall by the wayside in the struggle to get to the top.

In a study conducted by Irene Neverla, Gerda Kanzeleiter and a number of other women from the University of Munich an effort is made to discover why.

The study deals with the situation of female journalists and is to be published soon.

You don't need to study or undergo any special kind of training to get into journalism.

This is a factor of uncertainty for many women, many of them just slipped to the job as it were.

Many mothers of women journalists have a university education and the fathers of many were self-employed. This is less the case with male journalists.

Many women get into journalism via freelance activities, this being the only way to combine their job and their private life — which usually means their family.

This is a particularly difficult task in this job as journalists are often required to work in the evening and must as it were be constantly available.

This would suggest why only 25 per cent of the women journalists have children compared with 57 per cent for their male colleagues; 30 per cent of female journalists live alone. These are statistics from a *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (WDR) survey.

Forty two per cent of the women, as opposed to 72 per cent of men, state that they find it easy to combine their work and their family life.

Those women who manage to get a foot inside the journalistic door often get no further than the low-prestige departments, and are very rarely serious candidates for editors-in-chief.

The Neverla/Kanzeleiter study reveals these employment statistics for the broadcasting channels ARD (excluding SR and SFB), ZDF and RIAS: female journalists for politics, economics, sport and current affairs, 9 per cent (TV, 8 per cent); for culture, education and social affairs, 26 per cent (TV, 11 per cent); for light entertainment and music, 13 per cent (TV, 16 per cent).

The daily newspaper on which research was carried out didn't have one female political journalist and, of the total of 18 women journalists, eight worked for the local and regional section.

Here, they are responsible for the traditional women's subjects, such as health, consumer questions, social issues, the church, culture and of course fashion.

Many had not chosen these fields themselves but had virtually been put there by their male colleagues.

One participant at a "Women in the

■ SOCIETY

Why women journalists find it hard to make the grade

Media seminar in Hagen characterised her male colleagues and the "mutual cooperation" as follows: "Getting the come-on, vanity, showing-off, jokes, alcohol, playing Skat (a popular German card game), broken-down relationships."

The study confirmed the male will to reach the top and the fear of success on the part of the women.

It would seem as if all the men are just waiting in their starting holes and raring to go.

Neverla/Kanzeleiter and the other members of the research team gained the impression that men accept the price of success without thinking.

It was not clear whether women actually rejected such a career outright because success was too difficult or whether they are not willing to adjust and run the risk of being corrupted by success.

Of the 98 male and female journalists covered by the study, 75 per cent of the men and only 40 per cent of the women claimed to be interested in assuming top management functions.

"Women do not feel at ease in privileged positions."

Some of the participants at the Hagen conference then revealed a typical reaction: they regarded it as important for women to take on top jobs, but they did not like the idea of doing so themselves.

According to the Neverla/Kanzeleiter report, if women want to be successful they have to overcome their subjective fears and also cast aside the "clearly biologically influenced prejudice that there are specifically female capabilities."

According to one of the male colleagues interviewed, for example, women are "more subject to fluctuations in their abilities than men, that's quite understandable, obvious."

Others feel that women are "unobjective," "simply more sensitive," "don't get so involved in certain editorial tasks" and do not "have as much staying power" as men.

This is particularly the case when women are asked to "sacrifice their time."

One TV director commented: "A woman just isn't really suited for this TV business — you can quote me word-for-word here. A woman is just too involved in her own affairs. She is hardly able to form the editorial circles and teams needed. She wants to do everything herself."

The interviewer drew these conclusions from these opinions:

"If women had the qualifications and capabilities then they would be able to get in to top positions."

"Such a formulation implies that women can usually be expected not to have such qualifications, whereas the latter are almost automatically expected for men."

If it really is so difficult for women in general to climb up the career ladder in this profession, you would expect the female "loners" to club together and try for greater success.

However, this is where we come across another difficulty: the relationship between the female journalists is not always marked by solidarity. Competition is fast to gain the upper hand.

Many of the participants at the seminar told tales of intrigue, gossip, "male" behaviour, arrogance, envy and mistrust

mands emerged in the shape of a civil force.

The universities were gradually abandoned their anti-female bias. Those women who began to study and later actually teaching in universities found themselves confronting rigid scientific concepts and male behaviour.

They realised how strongly the methods and content of learning, the patriarchical structures of thinking and research were oriented towards male perception.

The usually subordinate position located to women in the academic world and their extreme underrepresentation in research prevented the emergence of a new self-awareness of women of a possible specific role as female scientists.

Admission of women to universities and educational facilities was not enough to guarantee emancipation.

The actual approach to scientific research had to be changed in order to be able to find answers to the questions which have arisen from the women's movement.

This already led during the first decades of this century to activities of women in universities designed to make women reflect upon the oppression which they are subjected to.

Topics began to be discussed which had up to that time either been avoided or dealt with in a distorted way. (Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 26 March 1983)

The Female is under closer scrutiny

The Bielefeld initiative works in close cooperation with other women's initiative groups, both on a national and international level.

It advises those seeking information, helps prepare seminars, put together material for theses and provides job contacts.

Following these first three years, there will be an assessment of the progress made and the decision on the future of the university group will be taken.

Such research on the situation of women finds its origins in the political context of the New Women's Movement and has become particularly accepted in the USA and in Britain.

Content, therefore, is linked to the change in the female awareness of her situation in society and the changes in the status of women in everyday life.

The demand for research dealing with the problems facing women dates back to the 18th century.

However, it took until the second half of the 19th century, a period in which women began organising themselves in various associations, before these demands

alongside the many positive ones.

To really remain a woman supporting the women's movement, meeting many female journalists is most difficult.

In the Neverla/Kanzeleiter study male journalists were asked to give their opinions on the women's movement.

Most said that it was a good but that anti-male excesses and a dual way in which demands are made are much too exaggerated. It's forcing men on to the defensive.

Although the women perceive themselves to be emotionally stronger men, they would appear to also share the responsibility for men with the network of "social partnership."

This dissociation from the women's movement would indicate a purely political movement.

Despite many cases of unpleasant experiences made with other journalists, the participants at the seminar agreed that more women should come involved in journalism.

"People (men) have got to realise that we exist, so that the co-operation between official policies and everyday life can no longer be denied."

It's about time that "subtle" dealt with from a woman's point of view. But the chances of success are, however, pretty poor.

The percentage share of female journalists represented in three big stations of differing sizes doubled between 1949 and 1979.

Although the number of jobs for female journalists increased, it was not a corresponding increase in the percentage share of women.

Any cut-backs in this field, he hit the women first.

He took care of it," said one of them. He drew his chemical mace and the two tramps straight in the face.

A doctor later diagnosed eye and face injuries.

Incidents like these have blackened the image of the Dortmund police to point where businessmen now make use of policemen, telling them that they are not prepared to take video sets and payment for goods sold.

After a burglary in a supermarket, the first thing the two officers who were called in to investigate did was to help themselves — one to a bottle of Greek brandy and the other to a bottle of vodka.

Asked what made them do it, one of the policemen answered: "It's customary."

They hid the stolen bottles under their jackets because "it wouldn't look so good to be seen running around with a bottle in hand."

One of the co-defendants, argued that they would have been given a bottle of alcohol anyway because that was the custom. So what was wrong with helping themselves?

The judges saw it differently and gave each of the accused an eight-month suspended sentence and a fine of DM2,000.

North Rhine-Westphalia's Interior Minister, Herbert Schnoor (SPD), said in a TV interview that "we must accept the fact that the change of values in our society as a whole, as with regard to property, has not passed by the police force." In an aside, he added: "What we need is a police force capable of acting on its own initiative."

He has exactly that — especially in Dortmund — though of course not the way he meant it. There can be no denying that Dortmund police officers showed initiative when, in their free time, drunk and without orders, they proceeded against the squatters in case two.

There was a whole group of them but only two had the misfortune of having been on so many official raids against squatters and demonstrators as to be instantly identified and subsequently charged: senior police officer Dietmar Weist, in charge of the central precinct, and Commissar Michael Murawski, deputy head of a task force.

They were given four-month suspended sentences. The judge accepted as a mitigating circumstance that they had had frequent brushes with squatters and used their raid to rid themselves of their frustrations.

The press officer at police headquarters now routinely lists the many disciplinary proceedings against the black sheep in the force. There are 17 formal disciplinary proceedings in progress against alleged police thieves and fences.

Some have had their salaries cut to up to 40 per cent, and the three police officers who used their chemical mace on the tramps have been suspended from duty pending the appeal of their court sentences.

One officer who, last December, came under suspicion of pimping and is now being tried has been suspended from duty on full pay.

Only officers Weist and Murawski are still on full duty. Weist lost his position as head of the central precinct. But Murawski is still deputy head of his task force because it appears that Police President Wolfgang Manner cannot manage without him.

Only ten days after the attack on the squatters and long before the wounds of the injured had healed, Murawski was put in charge of security for a major soccer game.

Commented Manner in the local press: "There's nobody else of his calibre."

Ingrid Müller-Münch (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 March 1983)

THE LAW

Lock your doors folks, here comes the Dortmund police force



Police in Dortmund have developed an unenviable reputation for corruption. Policemen at all levels have been involved in crime.

Case one: The radio at police headquarters cracked: "We've arrived at the scene of the burglary. Send a van."

The squad at the burgled Dortmund electronics shop was too late to catch the burglars who fled, leaving the stolen goods — radios, stereo sets, video recorders and TV sets — on the loading platform.

When the extra men arrived in the van they were told to push off again. The van was too late to catch the burglars who fled, leaving the stolen goods — radios, stereo sets, video recorders and TV sets — on the loading platform.

Case two: A handful of off-duty Dortmund policemen in plain clothes entered a house occupied by squatters and started beating up everybody.

They were pulled by their hair, men were injured to the point where they had to be hospitalized for weeks.

The crews of several patrol cars called by the neighbours lingered for a while and then drove off again.

Case three: A Dortmund citizen wanted to get rid of two tramps sleeping off in a nearly completed building.

He was with them with a bucket of cold water. But the three policemen who were called on the scene had a better idea.

"We'll take care of it," said one of them. He drew his chemical mace and the two tramps straight in the face.

A doctor later diagnosed eye and face injuries.

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Ingrid Müller-Münch (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 March 1983)

Moscow and missiles

Continued from page 2

would seem inevitable in such an eventuality, the Soviets will be disappointed, just as they were with the outcome of the West German elections in March.

It would hardly be surprising if they are banking on a Democrat victory during the US elections in 1984.

Yet again, they may have to hide their disappointment. And, in the final analysis, if they take their own military arguments seriously they must soon answer the question whether they would prefer 54 or 27 or no Pershings to 108 — and if so, how many SS-20s they would be willing to "sacrifice" to reach such an agreement.

In this sense, the argument that the closer the date of deployment gets, the greater the willingness of the Soviets to compromise will become is indeed correct.

This compromise, however, must be achieved soon after the Geneva talks reconvene at the end of May.

This presupposes that the Western concepts have taken clear shape by then and that negotiations keep moving between spring and late autumn.

It will be virtually impossible to obtain concessions from the Russians if the Pershings are already part of the landscape.

This would trigger off the "hour of the counter measures" — the crisis hour, which nobody dare desire.

Theo Sommer (Die Zeit, 8 April 1983)

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Ingrid Müller-Münch (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 March 1983)

Shooting deaths: should officers be armed?

A 14-year-old boy was recently shot dead by police after he had forced his way at night into a youth centre in Gauting, Bavaria.

The incident was so grotesque that it is impossible to give the police the benefit of the doubt.

There was nothing that could even remotely have resembled a self-defence reaction.

Even if the boy had been a real criminal, he was in an enclosed space. All the police had to do was to wait for him to come out again or summon help.

And even if the boy had been hailed by the police (why wasn't he?) and had not responded, there was no reason to shoot.

And if he had started to cause trouble inside the building, there would still have been no reason to shoot.

The shooting had to be done through a window, making it impossible to aim to incapacitate rather than kill.

There have been more such macabre examples of unwarranted use of police weapons.

In Hamburg, an 18-year-old youth who could at most have been suspected of being a car thief was shot dead at point-blank range after he had already been arrested. And in Augsburg the indiscriminate use of weapons led to the death of a drunk driver.

What these incidents have in common is the fact that the use of the weapon was out of proportion to the "crime" and had nothing to do with self-defence.

What happened was that the pistol simply overcompensated for its user's helplessness.

There are those who will point to the inadequate training of young police officers and to unclear regulations on the use of arms.

But even should there be a kernel of truth in such arguments, they miss the core of the problem: it is simply impossible to arm a huge number of policemen and expect them all to show a sense of responsibility.

This is not directed against individual police officers but is meant to point to the fact that by the very law of averages such a system must lead to deadly mistakes.

Before going into the pros and cons in the controversy over the justification to "shoot to kill," experience shows that we should weigh the necessity of having an armed police force as against the possibility of a "controlled disarmament move."

Robert Leich (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 March 1983)